

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

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No. 4

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE third list of contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain, which we print elsewhere in the present issue, furnishes fresh

LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
SCHEME.

and unmistakable evidence of the generous and widespread interest which our appeal on behalf of the crippled university has called forth.

Already upwards of five thousand volumes have been either received or definitely promised, and there are other equally generous promises of help which have yet to materialize. This is an excellent beginning, but, as we pointed out in our last issue, very much more remains to be done if the work of replacement which we have inaugurated is to be accomplished.

It is with the utmost confidence, therefore, that we renew and emphasize our appeal for help.

We are glad to be able to announce that three of the publications of the library which have been for several years in an active state of preparation, are now actually in circulation, and may be obtained from the publishers whose names appear on the cover of the "Bulletin," or through any bookseller. The most important of the three is:—

CATALOGUE
OF GREEK
PAPYRI.

CATALOGUE OF GREEK PAPYRI in the JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. By A. S. Hunt, Litt.D., J. de M. Johnson, M.A., and Victor Martin, D. ès L. Volume 2: "Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods". (Nos. 62-456). 4to, pp. xx, 487, with twenty-three plates of facsimiles. (Price one guinea, net.)

This volume is the result of more than five years of persistent labour on the part of Dr. Hunt and his two associate editors. The volume, which runs to upwards of 500 pages, deals with nearly 400 papyri, consisting mainly of non-literary documents of an official or legal character, extending from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period, as dis-

tinguished from the literary documents, forming the subject-matter of the first volume, which appeared in 1911.

The chief interest centres in the description of the collection of carbonized papyri of Thmûis. These papyri were found, says Dr. Hunt, as well as others of the same group in various European collections, without doubt in the ruined buildings of Thmûis (Tell Timai), partly excavated by the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund during the season 1892-3, whose chambers were found choked by a medley of decayed rolls, and it is interesting to learn that the documents printed in this volume form the largest body yet published from this source.

For the student of New Testament Greek the volume contains much that is of interest. Professor J. H. Moulton, by carefully sifting the material as the sheets passed through the press, succeeded in obtaining many new words for his forthcoming "Vocabulary of the Greek Testament". The student of the history of the period covered by this group of documents, especially in relation to law, economics, and taxation in Egypt during the Roman occupation, will also find a mass of extremely useful information, not only in the documents themselves, but in the exhaustive and illuminating notes by which they are accompanied. Whilst to the palæographical student the excellent facsimiles with the typographical transliterations should prove of great service.

The texts which are printed *in extenso* are accompanied by translations, extensive notes and commentaries, twenty-three plates of facsimiles in collotype of forty-five of the documents, and most elaborate indexes.

It may not be out of place, whilst calling attention to our own Catalogue of Greek papyri, briefly to refer to the new OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI volume of the "Oxyrhynchus Papyri," the publication of which synchronises with our own. This eleventh volume, issued by the Græco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and edited by Dr. B. P. Grenfell and Professor A. S. Hunt, consists, with one exception, of literary pieces of considerable importance, found at various dates since 1897. The exception is "one of the most interesting documents concerning the early Egyptian Church," furnishing as it does a list of services at various churches on Sundays, festivals, and apparently on other days, of five months in a particular year, which can be definitely fixed as A.D. 535-6. Other theological fragments

include short passages from several of the Epistles, but apparently of no great textual value.

The classical discoveries include fragments of Hesiod and Bacchylides, the latter being represented by two substantial pieces of scolia or convivial songs; some twenty-four elegiacs from the "Aetia" of Callimachus (1st cent.); a passage on the nature of justice by Antiphon, a contemporary of Socrates; and nearly two complete columns on the history of Sicyon (3rd cent.). Of extant texts there are papyri of parts of Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and others, but the most important are portions of Thucydides VII (2nd-3rd cent.), furnishing new readings which will be much appreciated by experts of the text of Thucydides.

The feature of this volume which has afforded us the greatest pleasure, is the reappearance of the name of Dr. Grenfell upon the title page. Dr. Grenfell, we are glad to learn, has made a splendid recovery, and we hope that for many years he may be permitted to continue his researches in the field of scholarship, which he and his colleague, Dr. A. S. Hunt, have so peculiarly made their own, and that their researches may be crowned with new successes not unworthy of comparison with those which they have already to their credit.

The second of the library publications which has just made its appearance is:—

SUMERIAN TABLETS FROM UMM	IN THE JOHN	SUMERIAN TABLETS FROM UMMA.
RYLANDS LIBRARY. . . .	Transcribed, trans-	
	literated, and translated by C. L. Bedale, M.A. . . .	
	With a Foreword by Canon C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Litt.D.	
	4to, pp. xvi, 16, with ten facsimiles. (Price five shillings, net).	

This thin quarto consists of a description of fifty-eight tablets, forming part of the collection acquired by the library some years ago, at the suggestion of the late Professor Hogg and Canon Johns. The work of cataloguing and editing the collection was to have been undertaken by Professor Hogg, but death intervened before he was able seriously to enter upon it. Mr. Bedale, one of Professor Hogg's students, who succeeded him as Lecturer in Assyriology at the University of Manchester, very gladly and readily stepped into the breach, and with the assistance of Canon Johns has produced a piece of work which does the editor infinite credit.

The volume is of considerable interest, since it makes available for study the first batch of tablets from this particular site at Umma, and that interest has been further enhanced by the Foreword contributed by Canon Johns, in which he describes the nature of the transactions recorded.

The third publication to make its appearance is a portfolio of facsimiles of eight early engravings, which are preserved in the John Rylands Library, under the title :—

WOODCUTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN THE

WOODCUTS
OF THE
FIFTEENTH
CENTURY.

JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. Reproduced in facsimile.

With an introduction and descriptive notes by Campbell Dodgson, M.A. Folio. Ten plates, of which two are in colour, and 16 pp. of text, in a portfolio. (Price seven shillings and sixpence.)

In addition to its fine collection of printed books of the fifteenth century, the library contains a small but precious collection of the woodcuts and metal cuts that were issued separately in large numbers in the early part of the same period, chiefly as aids to devotion.

Two of these woodcuts are of exceptional interest and importance, and have been known and celebrated for a century and a half, but have not hitherto been reproduced in a satisfactory manner, by any of the modern photo-mechanical processes. The two woodcuts referred to represent "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation," the former of which has acquired a great celebrity by reason of the date (1423) which it bears, and which, until recently, gave to it the unchallenged position of the first dated woodcut.

Since the discovery in 1845, at Malines, of another woodcut representing "The Virgin and Child," and bearing the date 1418, which was afterwards acquired for the Royal Library at Brussels, and has, it is to be hoped, escaped the fury of the modern Vandals, the St. Christopher, in the estimation of some of the authorities, has lost its position. This view is shared by Mr. Dodgson, but there are other authorities who have a strong suspicion that the date in the Brussels print has been faked, if not added later, since the character of the lettering in the date differs entirely from that found in the untouched ribbon scrolls, containing inscriptions, in the picture itself.

These and many other points of great interest have been dealt with by Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings

in the British Museum, the recognized authority on such matters, who kindly undertook to write the introduction and descriptive notes, and in so doing has greatly added to the value and importance of the publication.

The "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation" have been reproduced in the exact colours of the originals, as well as in monochrome, and the difficulty experienced in obtaining satisfactory results in the coloured reproductions, accounts, to some extent, for the delay which has attended the publication of this fourth issue of the series of "The John Rylands Facsimiles". The water-colour sketches, which formed the basis of the colour reproductions, were prepared under the direction of Mr. Richard Glazier, the Principal of the Manchester School of Art, to whom we offer our grateful thanks.

In the course of the examination and description of the library's collection of Arabic manuscripts, numbering upwards of 800 volumes, upon which Dr. Alphonse Mingana is at present engaged, many of them have been invested with a new importance, by reason of the exceptional palæographical and textual interest which they have been found to possess. In recent issues of the "Bulletin" attention has been called to copies of the "Kur'an," which are likely to excite considerable interest with regard to the text of the Mohammedan scriptures. In our next issue we shall publish a further article from the pen of Dr. Mingana, in which he will describe another manuscript, probably unique, by Ibn Bâbawaih al-Ḳummi, dealing with Moslem beliefs and practices. There is a glamour of romance and humour surrounding many of the stories translated by Dr. Mingana, which, together with the information regarding the rewards for good deeds, and the punishments for infractions of conduct, reserved for the followers of Mohammed, will make interesting and instructive reading.

AN UNRECORDED
APOLOGY
OF ISLAMISM.

The object of the present note, however, is to call attention to the most recent, and certainly the most important of Dr. Mingana's finds. The manuscript referred to is a volume of modest appearance and dimensions, the provenance of which it is now impossible to determine, since there is no record of when and how it came into the possession of the late Earl of Crawford, from whom it was acquired, with the other manuscript collections, in 1902. It consists of an apology of Islâm, by a learned Muhammadan doctor, named 'Ali b. Rabbân at-

Tabari, the importance of which may be gleaned from the following notes furnished by Dr. Mingana.

The ninth century of the Christian era is marked by numerous apologetic works by Christians and Muhammadans, who lived not far from Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbâside dynasty of the Eastern caliphate. The names of Abu Nūh, Timotheus the Patriarch, and Ishak al-Kindi, among Christian apologists are known by all interested in oriental learning. In particular the "Apology of the Christian Faith," by Al-Kindi can hardly be ignored by any educated Muslim, or by any educated Christian living with Muslims. But, as far as we are aware, hitherto no such an apology of Islām of so early a date and of such outstanding importance, by a Muhammadan has been known to exist. It is, therefore, a source of great pleasure to be able to announce that a work similar to that of Al-Kindi, dated A.H. 616, has been found in our collection. The work is of first-rate importance to the Muslim, and not of less importance to every oriental scholar, whilst to anyone interested in theological questions it must have an interest. It follows generally the apology of Al-Kindi, which the author probably intended to refute. The work contains about 130 long Biblical quotations to prove the divine mission of the Arabian prophet. These quotations follow the Syriac Version of the Bible, said, in the manuscript, to have been translated by an unknown author called "Marcus the Interpreter". If this Marcus may be identified with the Marcus mentioned in the "Fihrist" (p. 306), and among the writers preceding the time of the Prophet, the book would become of paramount importance for many questions dealing with the redaction of the Kur'an. The Syriac word *Mshabbha*, "the Glorious," wherever occurring in the Old Testament, is translated in Arabic by the word *Muhammad*. It is possible, therefore, that the Prophet having heard this word pronounced, wrote (S. vii, 156, etc.) that his name was found in the Sacred Books of the Christians and the Jews.

The writer is the physician and moralist 'Ali b. Rabbān at-Tabari, who died about A.D. 864. He wrote his book at the request of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861), at Baghdad in the year A.D. 850. The manuscript is a transcript of the autograph of Tabari himself, and is certainly the most seriously written book on the apologetic theme existing in our days.

The Governors of the Library have in contemplation the publication of an edition of the Arabic text, accompanied by an English translation, upon which Dr. Mingana is at present actively engaged. If it be true, that every faithful follower of Muhammad will desire to possess a copy of this manual as soon as it is brought to his notice, as we are assured will be the case, our printers and publishers are likely to be kept busy for some time to come.

In the present issue we print an interesting description of an important thirteenth century Latin Summary of the Sentences of Peter Lombard, forming part of a small collection of similar manuscripts in two volumes, which according to the inscriptions found here and there in the volumes themselves, belonged at one time to the Cistercian Monastery of Camborne, in the Diocese of Cambray. It was later and until recently in the possession of Mr. George Dunn, of Woolley Hall, Maidenhead, and at the dispersal of his manuscripts, which took place in 1913, it passed into the custody of this library.

SUMMARY
OF THE
SENTENCES
OF PETER
LOMBARD.

Hitherto the manuscript appears to have escaped the attention of scholars, and we are indebted to the Rev. Raymond M. Martin, O.P., for its identification, and also for permitting us to publish the results of his scholarly examination of a text which should be of considerable importance to those who are interested in the history of mediæval theology.

Father Martin, a Professor of Louvain, has been in England since the occupation of Louvain by the Germans, but he has now returned, feeling that his duty is amongst his own people, to succour, and to minister to such of them as remain in the devastated city.

For some time Father Martin has been engaged in the collection of materials for an edition of the works of the mediæval philosopher and theologian, Robert de Melun, which he has in contemplation. Robert de Melun, who is little known to-day, was born in England. At an early age he proceeded to Paris, to study under Hugues de Saint Victor, and Abélard. In course of time he was made professor, and taught, first at the École de Sainte-Geneviève, and later at Melun. In 1163 he was consecrated Bishop of Hereford, which office he occupied until his removal by death, on the 28th February, 1167.

ROBERT DE
MELUN.

Father Martin has already published two monographs upon the

subject : " Les idées de Robert de Melun sur le péché original," 1913, and " La nécessité de croire. Le mystère de la très Sainte-Trinité, d'après Robert de Melun," 1913, copies of which he has presented to the library. Other articles on the works of this author are to appear in the forthcoming numbers of the " Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques," " Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique," and " La Ciencia Tomista ".

In the last letter received from Father Martin, written on the eve of his return to Louvain, he requested us to announce that he would be most grateful for any information, based upon manuscript sources, as bearing upon Robert de Melun and his works. Needless to say we shall be glad to receive any communications that any of our readers may wish to make, and to transmit them to Father Martin when the opportunity occurs.

Amongst the most recent accessions to the library, we have received the two first fasciculi of a magnificent work by REIMS
CATHE-
DR L. M. Paul Vitry, entitled " La Cathédrale de Reims : architecture et sculpture," which, when completed will comprise 225 plates excellently reproduced in héliogravure, accompanied by an historical and descriptive introduction, and a bibliography, together with plans and other documents showing the actual state of the damaged parts of this chef-d'œuvre of French architecture.

It is fortunate that the collection of materials for this great work had been completed before the Vandals had commenced their work of studied demolition, and that we have had preserved for all time a pictorial record of this truly national sanctuary, which represents the richest example of Gothic art at its best period, and at the same time the most varied example of French sculpture of the thirteenth century, when it had arrived at its supreme monumental expression.

The words in which M. Vitry dedicates his work to the public are well worth quoting :—

" . . . nous voudrions que ce livre-ci fût surtout et d'abord un hommage pieux au chef d'œuvre, victime d'un attentat odieux, qu'il fixât à jamais le souvenir des parties qui ont été ravagées, glorifiant celles, nombreuses heureusement, qui ont échappé à la dévastation et qui seront d'autant plus célèbres, d'autant plus consultées et admirées par les générations à venir."

There is another work amongst the recent accessions, which is deserving of notice at a time when the thoughts of the intellectual world turn in sympathy to Louvain, which has been appropriately described as the "martyr city," and which will be welcomed by many of our readers, especially by those who have so generously responded to our appeals for help in our efforts to assist in the repair of one corner of that devastated area. The work to which we refer is : "L'Université de Louvain : Conférences données au Collège de France en Février, 1915." By Paul Delannoy. As the title indicates it reproduces the lectures which M. Delannoy, Professor and Librarian of the University of Louvain, delivered at the Collège de France, to large and enthusiastic audiences, in the early part of the year. The author has sketched for us, in a brief, but most attractive manner, the principal episodes of the history of the University from its foundation in the fifteenth century to the present time. He tells us that it was reckoned amongst the most vital intellectual forces of the nation, and was at the same time one of the most ardent centres of patriotism.

Under the will of the late Mr. Thomas Kay, J.P., of Stockport, there has been bequeathed to the library the portrait of a young man, which without reasonable evidence has been described as the "Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare". In accepting the bequest we are under no illusions as to the iconographic value of the painting. Since, however, it has already obtained a certain notoriety in the press, it is as well that it should be preserved in some public institution, where it will be accessible to any of the experts or others interested in the subject, who may wish to satisfy themselves as to the fallacy of the attribution.

The story of how the picture came into the possession of Mr. Kay, and of his subsequent efforts to identify the portrait with Shakespeare, is told in a little volume which has just made its appearance, under the title : "The Story of the Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare : with an account of the sack and destruction of the Manor of Grafton Regis, 1643". By Thomas Kay.

The book is a piece of special pleading, in which there is little evidence to justify the deductions arrived at. The Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, to whom the panel was known, and who had examined and condemned it several years before it was brought

THE SO-
CALLED
GRAFTON
PORTRAIT
OF SHAKE-
SPEARE.

to the notice of Mr. Kay, warned that gentleman of the cool and vain attempts which had been made from time to time to identify the portrait with Shakespeare, but without avail.

However, it is self-evident that Mr. Kay conscientiously believed in his "find," but that he was completely misled, unfortunately, no possibility for doubt.

The exhibition of manuscripts and early printed books, which was specially arranged in the show cases of the library, on the occasion of the visit of the British Association in September last, will remain on view until March next, when it will be replaced by a selection of the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, to commemorate the tercentenary of the death of our national poet.

EXHIBITION
OF MANU-
SCRIPTS
AND EARLY
PRINTED
BOOKS.

In the present exhibition may be seen some of the most famous of the library's possessions in oriental and western manuscripts, illustrating the art and craft of the scribe and the illuminator during the Middle Ages. Side by side with these are examples of the block-books, and the earliest type-printed books, in which also the library is so well equipped. Indeed, it is possible, by means of this exhibition, to trace the evolution of the materials and methods which have been employed from the earliest times down to the close of the fifteenth century, for the preservation and transmission of knowledge from one age to another.

We have been able, also, by means of this exhibition, to render some assistance to the Education Committee of Manchester in their efforts to provide means of instruction for the scholars who have been dislodged through the taking over by the military authorities of so many of the schools to serve as hospitals. The course adopted has been to invite groups of teachers to the library for a demonstration upon portions of the exhibition, so as to provide them with the necessary material, with which, in turn, they may each give a demonstration, around the show cases, to their respective classes. In this way a large number of young people have been brought into touch with the library, and it is impossible to estimate the good that may result from these visits, affording, as they do in so many cases, peeps into an entirely new world, which will add a new interest and reality to their studies.

Since the publication of our last issue, another of our colleagues has joined His Majesty's forces, in the person of Mr. S. O. Moffet, M.A., one of the senior assistants. He has joined the Motor Transport Branch of the Army Service Corps, and having qualified, is daily expecting to be sent to the front.

We are glad to be able to report that, according to the latest reports, our colleagues who are on active service are all safe. Lieutenant O. J. Sutton, who received his commission immediately after the declaration of war, accompanied the 9th Manchester Regiment to the Dardanelles, and was sent back wounded, after seeing considerable service. He has since recovered, and is again on active service. We are proud to learn that he has been mentioned in dispatches by Sir Ian Hamilton for distinguished service, has received his second star, and is recommended for the Military Cross.

The present issue will be found to contain the third section of the list of the most important of the recent accessions to the library, which deals exclusively with the additions to the department of History, accompanied by the promised combined author index to all three sections.

Of Professor Tout's lecture entitled "A Mediaeval Burglary," which also appears in the present issue, a limited number of reprints in separate form have been published, and may be had of the usual agents, at the price of sixpence.

With our next issue we shall commence a new volume, so that the volumes may not be too unwieldy. We have therefore included in the present and concluding part of the second volume a title page with table of contents, to enable those of our readers who may wish to preserve their copies to bind them.

THE LIB-
RARY'S
ROLL OF
HONOUR.

LIST OF
RECENT AC-
CESSIONS.

A MEDI-
AEVAL
BURGLARY.

OUR NEXT
ISSUE.

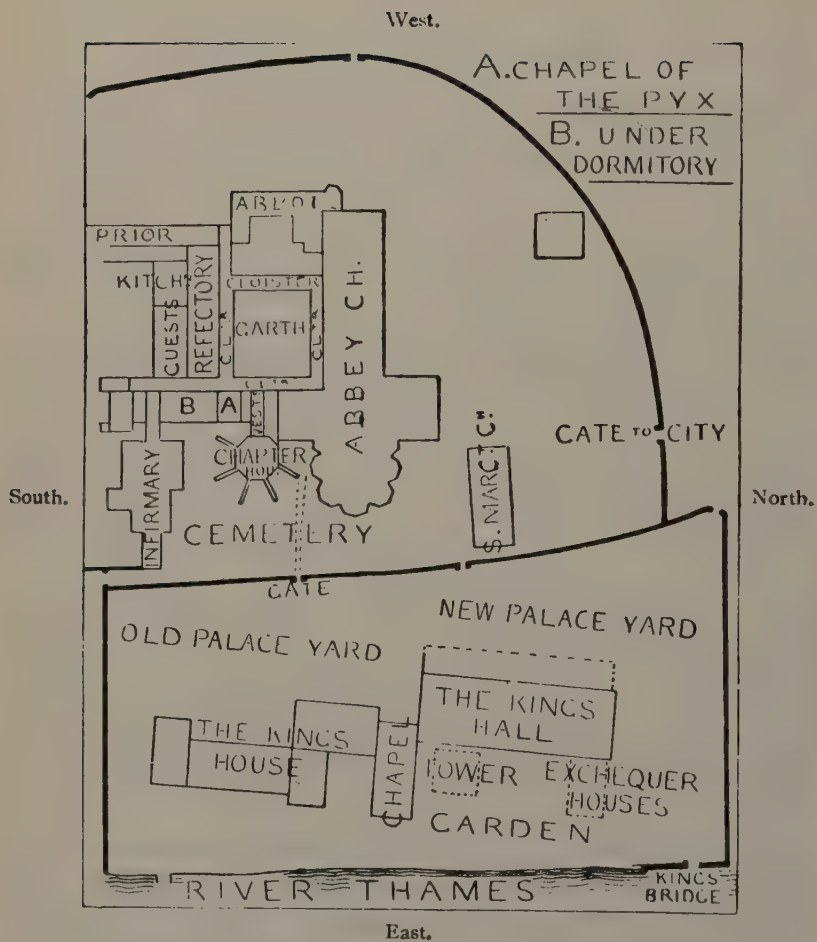
A MEDIAEVAL BURGLARY.¹

BY T. F. TOUT, M.A., F.B.A., BISHOP FRASER PROFESSOR
OF MEDIAEVAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE burglary, about which I have to speak to-night, I did not discover by ransacking the picturesque and humorous annals of mediaeval crime. I came across the details of this incident when seeking for something quite different, for it happened when I was attempting to investigate the technicalities of the history of the administrative department known as the king's Wardrobe. But so human a story did something to cheer up the weary paths of Dryasdust, and he hands it on to you in the hope that you will not find it absolutely wanting in instruction and amusement. Now my burglary was the burglary of the king's treasury, or more precisely, of the treasury of the king's wardrobe, within the precincts of the abbey at Westminster. The date of the event was 24 April, 1303. More precisely, according to the chief burglar's own account, it was on the evening of that day that the burglar effected an entrance into the king's treasury, from which, he tells us he escaped, with as much booty as he could carry, on the morning of 26 April. Who had committed the burglary is a problem which was not quite settled, even by the trials which followed the offence, though these trials resulted in the hanging of some half a dozen people at least. But after the hanging of the half-dozen, it was still maintained in some quarters that the burglary was committed by one robber only, though charges of complicity in his guilt were in common fame extended to something like a hundred individuals. And in this case common fame was not, I think, at fault.

I wish first of all to explain the meaning of the sentence, rather cryptic to the generality, in which I spoke of my burglary as that of the robbery of the treasury of the king's wardrobe within Westminster

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 20 January, 1915.



PLAN OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND PALACE.

Abbey. For this purpose I must ask you to carry your minds back to the Westminster of the early years of the fourteenth century. Westminster was then what Kensington was in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, a court suburb, aloof from the traffic and business of the great city of London. Now the twin centres of Westminster were the king's palace and the adjacent Benedictine Abbey. The rough plan, which I am permitted to print on the opposite page, will show the close relation of the two great groups of buildings. It was much closer in many ways than the relations between the Houses of Parliament, the modern representative of the old palace, and the present abbey buildings. If these latter largely remain, despite many destructive alterations in details, in their ancient site, we must remember that there was nothing like the broad modern road that separates the east end of the abbey from Westminster Hall and the House of Lords. A wall enclosed the royal precincts, and went westwards to within a few feet of the monks' infirmary and the end of St. Margaret's Church. The still existing access to the abbey on the east side of the south transept through the door by which you can still go into "poet's corner," having the chapter house on your left and Henry VII's chapel on your right, was the portal by which immediate access to the palace could be gained through a gate in this wall. The space between the abbey and the palace wall was occupied by the churchyard of St. Margaret's. The parish church—or rather its successor—still crouches beneath the shade of the neighbouring minster. This churchyard covered the ground now taken up by Henry VII's chapel, which of course was not as yet in existence. In the midst of this grassy plot stood the chapter house of the monks of Westminster, with its flying buttresses and its single pillar supporting its huge vault, then newly erected by the pious zeal of Henry III.

Westminster Abbey was founded by Edward the Confessor, and substantially refounded by Henry III, who had shown immense care and lavished large sums on a grandiose scheme for the rebuilding of the great house of religion which contained the shrine of his favourite saint, in whose honour he had given his son the name of Edward. The rebuilding went on into the reign of Edward I, who was not much inferior to his father in his zeal for the church, and was doubly bound to honour his father's wishes and the memory of his own patron saint. In the closing years of the thirteenth century circumstances compelled

Edward I to desist from this work. The king now found himself dragged into enormous expenses by the French, Scottish, and Flemish wars. He was perforce turned from church-building to get men and money for his wars.

The finances of England under Edward I were less elastic than under Mr. Lloyd-George, and modern credit and banking were then in their very infancy. Edward I, though he imposed taxes which would make the most stalwart militarist of to-day quiver, soon found himself hopelessly in debt. To meet his burdens the king constantly employed differentiated taxation, but the differentiation was calculated by rather a different method from that in fashion nowadays. It was differentiation according to status, not according to wealth. The clergy, who were not expected to fight, were expected to pay more heavily than the laymen. Let us take as an instance of how things were then done the taxes levied in 1294 when the fighting country districts were called upon to pay a tenth of their moveables in taxation, and the wealthier and more peaceful towns were asked for a sixth. From the clergy a tax equal, I think, to a modern income tax of ten shillings in the pound, was demanded, and it is said that when the dean of St. Paul's heard of this unprecedented impost, he fell dead on the spot. If such heroic efforts—I mean the king's not the dean's—were necessary in 1294 at the beginning of England's troubles, how much worse things must have become by 1303, after ten years of storm and stress? By this date Edward I's finances were indeed in a bad state. Historians are only now gradually beginning to realise how embarrassed the great king was in the last years of his reign, and how desperate were some of his attempts to fill his exchequer.

The whole of Edward's declining years were not equally strenuous, though his finances steadily grew worse. Before the end of the old century Edward had got over the worst of his troubles abroad. He therefore determined to devote himself with characteristic energy to the conquest of the "rebel" Scots. Since therefore Scotland now became the king's chief anxiety, Edward made his headquarters in the north of England. In those days, where the king lived there the machinery of government was to be found. For though England in the thirteenth century had centralised institutions, those institutions were not centralised in a local capital. It is true that one English city was immensely more important than all the rest. London, in the thirteenth

as in the eighteenth century, was, relatively to other towns, even greater and more important than is the case nowadays. Of course Edward I's London to our eyes would be quite a little place, but at a time when there was, outside London, perhaps no town of more than 10,000 inhabitants and very few of that population, a city four or five times that size was something portentous. Yet this greatness of London was due to its commercial activity, much more than to the fact that it was the "capital" of the country or its seat of government. In reality there was no capital in the modern sense, for the English tradition was that the government should follow the king. It was only very gradually that the governing machinery of the land was permanently settled in Westminster or London. There was, however, already a tendency towards making the great city, or rather its neighbouring court suburb, a centre of permanent administrative offices, a capital in the modern sense. Thus the Court of Common Pleas had been settled in London since Magna Carta and the Exchequer, that is the department of finance, had also been fixed there since the reign of Henry II. These were, however, still the exceptions which proved the rule. The office of the Chancery—which was not then a law-court, but the secretarial office of state—followed the king. So also did certain branches of the administration which depended on the court, and were intended, first of all, to be the machinery for the government of the king's household.

In the middle ages no distinction was made between the king and the kingdom. If the king had devised a useful machine for governing his household and estates, he naturally used it for any other purposes for which he thought it would be useful. We find, therefore, the court offices of administration and finance working side by side with the national offices, not only in dealing with household affairs, but in the actual work of governing the country.

The most important of these household offices was that called the king's Wardrobe. Originally the Wardrobe was, of course, the closet in which the king hung up his clothes, and the staff belonging to it were the valets and servants whose business it was to look after them. From this modest beginning the king's Wardrobe had become an organised office of government. Its clerks rivalled the officers of the Exchequer in their dealings with financial matters, and the officers of the Chancery, in the number of letters, mandates, orders, and general administrative business which passed through their hands.

The Wardrobe always "followed the king". In war time, then, it was far away from London, at or near the scene of fighting. In such periods it became the great spending department, while the Exchequer normally remained at Westminster collecting the revenue of the country, and forwarding the money to the Wardrobe which spent it. For five years before 1303 the king had thrown his chief energies into the conquest of Scotland. Under these circumstances London and Westminster saw little of him. Moreover, he found it convenient to have near him in the north even the sedentary offices of government. Accordingly in 1298 Edward transferred the Exchequer, the law courts, and the Chancery to York. From 1298, then, to 1303 York, rather than Westminster, might have been called the capital of England, and the king's appearances to the south were few and far between. The occasion of such visits was generally his desire to get money, and to make arrangements with his creditors. From such a short sojourn the king went north in the early months of 1303. Despite all his efforts it was only in that year that he was really able to put his main weight into the Scottish war.

When our burglary took place, king, court, and government offices had been removed to York for over five years. Under mediaeval conditions the eye of a vigilant task-master was an essential condition of efficiency. It followed then that during Edward's long absence things at Westminster were allowed to drift into an extraordinary state of confusion and disorder. Affairs were made worse by the fact that even kings were not always free to choose their own servants. Thus the king's palace at Westminster was in the hands of an hereditary keeper. There was nothing strange about this. In the middle ages such offices were frequently held by hereditary right, just as in the East everybody takes up his father's business as a matter of religious duty. Earl Curzon once pointed out to the electors of Oldham that in India there are still hereditary tailors, who did their work very well. However this may be with tailors in the East and legislators in the West, the hereditary keeper of Edward's palace of Westminster did not prove to be a very effective custodian of his master's property. His name was John Shenche or Senche, and he held two hereditary offices, that of "keeper of the king's palace at Westminster," and also the keepership of the Fleet prison, in right of his wife Joan, who had inherited both from her father. Thus in

addition to the keepership of the palace John Shenche "kept" the king's prison of the Fleet in the city of London. As a rule, John and his wife Joan had their habitation in the prison in the City. John, therefore, employed as his deputy at Westminster an underling, a certain William of the Palace, who kept, or rather did not keep, for him the king's palace at Westminster. However, early in the year 1303, John left his abode in the City where his wife remained, and took up his quarters in the palace. Apparently the prison was not so comfortable a place for an easy-going officer to live in as the palace. Perhaps, too, the domestic restraints imposed upon Shenche in the city were burdensome to him. Certainly gay times now ensued in the deserted palace. Soon John and William, in the absence of the higher authorities, seem to have gathered together a band of disreputable boon companions of both sexes, whose drunken revels and scandalous misconduct were soon notorious throughout the neighbourhood. One element in this band of revellers was, I regret to say, a certain section of the monks of the neighbouring monastery. For as the absence of the king and the court had left the palace asleep, as it were, so also had the monastery at Westminster sunk into a deeper and more scandalous slumber.

The enthusiasm, effort, and excitement which had marked the period of Henry III.'s reconstruction of Westminster Abbey had now died down. Mediaeval man, though zealous and full of ideas, was seldom persistent. It is a commonplace of history that when the first impulse of fervour that attended a new order or a new foundation had passed away, religious activity was followed by a strong reaction. The great period of the monastery at Westminster had been during its reconstitution under Henry III, but that time of energy had now worked itself out, and the abbey had gone to sleep. The work of reconstruction had stopped from lack of funds; the royal favour as well as the royal presence was withdrawn gradually from the abbey. Moreover, a few years earlier a disastrous fire devastated the monastic buildings, and only just spared the chapter house and the abbey church. It looks as if the monks had to camp out in half-ruined buildings till their home could be restored. All this naturally relaxed the reins of discipline, the more so since the abbot, Walter of Wenlock, was an old man, whose hold on the monks was slight, and some of the chief officers of the abbey, the *obedientiaries*, as

they were called, were singularly incompetent or unscrupulous persons. It followed naturally that many of the fifty monks became slack beyond ordinary standards of mediaeval slackness. It was both from obedientiaries and common monks that John Shenche and William of the Palace secured the companions for their unseemly revels. There now comes upon the scene a new figure, in fact, the hero of the burglary, Richard of Pudlicott.

Richard of Pudlicott began life as a clerk, but abandoned his clergy for the more profitable calling of a wandering trader in wool, cheese, and butter. England's economic position in those days reminds us of the state of things now prevailing in Argentina or Australia, rather than that in modern industrial England. She had little to sell abroad save raw materials, especially wool, which was largely exported to the great clothing towns of Flanders. This traffic took Pudlicott to Ghent and Bruges in 1298, when Edward I had allied with the Flemings against the king of France. But his trading adventures were as unsuccessful as the king's military efforts in Flanders. Moreover, after the king's return to England, Pudlicott had the ill luck to be among those merchants arrested as a surety for the debts which Edward had left behind him in the Low Countries. This unceremonious treatment of an alien ally is a method of mediaeval frightfulness which may be recommended to our alien enemies, but Edward's credit was so bad that we can hardly blame the Flemings for leaving no stone unturned to obtain payment of their debts ; whether they succeeded I do not know. Before long Richard escaped from his Flemish gaol, leaving his property in Flanders in the hands of his captors. Nursing a grievance against the king, and with dire poverty facing him, he took lodgings in London, where, like many bankrupts, he seems to have generally had enough money to indulge in all the personal gratifications that he had a special mind to practice. It seems that in the pursuit of his disreputable pleasures, Pudlicott was brought into contact with John Shenche, William of the Palace, and the other merry-makers, lay and ecclesiastical, in the lodge of the king's palace of Westminster. He had a specious excuse for haunting Westminster Hall. He was - he says himself seeking a remedy in the king's courts for the property he had lost in Flanders. How he could find one, when these courts were at York, I cannot say. But, as we shall see, many of Pudlicott's personal statements are difficult to reconcile with

facts. However, Edward himself soon came to Westminster, but withdrew after a short stay, leaving Pudlicott unpaid.

We have seen how near was the palace to the abbey, and how the palace keeper's monastic friends formed a living bridge between the two. One result of these pleasant social relations was that the Abbey of Westminster soon became familiar ground to Pudlicott. One day, when disturbed at the hopelessness of getting his grievances redressed by the king, he wandered through the cloisters of the abbey, and noticed with greedy eyes the rich stores of silver plate carried in and out of the refectory of the monks, by the servants who were waiting on the brethren at meals. The happy idea struck him to seek a means to "enable him to come at the goods which he saw". Thus the king's foundation might, somewhat irregularly, be made to pay the king's debts. Pudlicott soon laid his plans accordingly. The very day after the king left Westminster, Pudlicott found a ladder reared up against a house near the palace gate. He put this ladder against one of the windows of the chapter-house; he climbed up the ladder; found a window that opened by means of a cord; opened the window and swung himself by the same cord into the chapter-house. Thence he made his way to the refectory, and secured a rich booty of plate which he managed to carry off and sell.

Pudlicott's success with the monks' plate did not profit him for long. Within nine months—and we may believe surely this part of his not too veracious tale—the proceeds of the sale of the silver cups and dishes of the abbey had been eaten up. No doubt the loose life he was living and the revels with the keepers of the palace involved a constant need for plentiful supplies of ready cash. Anyhow by the end of 1302 Richard was again destitute, and looking out for something more to steal. It was, doubtless, dangerous to rob the monks any more, and perhaps the intimacy which was now established between him and his monastic boon companions suggested to Richard a more excellent way of restoring his fortunes. His plan was now to rob the king's treasury, and his success seemed assured since, as he tells us, he "knew the premises of the abbey, where the treasury was, and how he might come to it". How he profited by his knowledge we shall soon see, but first we must for a moment part company with Pudlicott's "confession," which up to now I have followed with hesitation. But for the next stage of our story it is plainly almost the contrary of the truth.

Before we can with advantage explain why we can no longer trust his tale, it would be well for us to state what this treasury was and how it could be got at.

Let us begin with the word treasury. In the fourteenth century treasury meant simply a storehouse, or at its narrowest a storehouse of valuables. To us the "treasury" is the government department of finance, but under Edward I the state office of finance was the Exchequer, which, as we saw, was located normally at Westminster, but since 1298 at York. When at Westminster the Exchequer had a "treasury" or storehouse there also, yet in its absence it is not likely that it kept either valuables or money at Westminster. But side by side with the state office was the household office of finance, the Wardrobe, and, though the wardrobe office was itinerating with the king, it still kept a "treasury" or storehouse at Westminster, and this, for the sake of greater safety, had been placed for some years at least within the precincts of the abbey. From the monastic point of view, it was doubtless an inconvenience that nearness to the royal dwelling compelled them to offer their premises for the royal service. Accordingly, kings not infrequently made demands upon the abbey to use its buildings. Thus the chapter house became a frequent place for meetings of parliament, and at a later time it was used and continued to be used till the nineteenth century, for the storage of official records. In the same way Edward secured the crypt underneath the chapter house as one of the storehouses of his Wardrobe. When the crypt was first used for this purpose I do not know, but records show us that it was already in use in 1291, at which date it was newly paved. It was not the only storehouse of the Wardrobe. There was another "treasury of the wardrobe" in the Tower of London, but this was mainly used for bulky articles, arms and armour, cloth, furs, furniture, and the like. Most of what we should call treasure was deposited in the Westminster crypt, and we are fortunate in having still extant a list of the jewels preserved there in 1298, the time when the court began to establish itself for its five years' sojourn in the north. In 1303 jewels and plate were still the chief treasures preserved there. Some money was there also, notably a store of "gold florins of Florence," the only gold coins currently used in England at a time when the national mints limited themselves to the coinage of silver. But I do not think there could have been much money, for Edward's needs were too pressing, his financial

policy too much from hand to mouth, for the crypt at Westminster to be a hoard of coined money, like the famous Prussian *Kriegsschatz* at Spandau, which, we now rejoice to learn, is becoming rapidly depleted. Whatever its contents, Edward estimated that their value was £100,000, a sum equivalent to a year's revenue of the English state in ordinary times. Unluckily mediaeval statistics are largely mere guess-work. But the amount of the guess at least suggests the feeling that the value of the treasures stored in the crypt was very considerable.

The crypt under the chapter house is one of the most interesting portions of the abbey buildings at Westminster. It is little known because it is not, I think, generally shown to visitors. I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Bishop Ryle, the present dean, for an opportunity of making a special inspection of it. It is delightfully complete, and delightfully unrestored. The chief new thing about it seems the pavement, but the dean's well-informed verger told me that it was within living memory that this pavement had replaced the flooring of 1291. Numerous windows give a fair amount of light to the apartment; though the enormous thickness of the walls, some thirteen feet, it was said, prevent the light being very abundant, even on a bright day. The central column, the lower part of the great pillar from which radiates the high soaring vaults of the chapter house above, alone breaks the present emptiness of the crypt. Considerable portions of the column are cut away to form a series of neatly made recesses, and there are recesses within these recesses, which suggest in themselves careful devices for secreting valuables, for it would be easy to conceal them by the simple expedient of inserting a stone here and there where the masonry had been cut away, and so suggesting to the unwary an unbroken column. I should not like to say that these curious store-places already existed in 1303; but there is no reason why they should not. Certainly they fit in admirably with the use of the crypt as a treasury.

One other point we must also remember about the dispositions of this crypt. There is only one access to it, and that is neither from the chapter house above nor from the adjacent cloister, but from the church itself. A low, vaulted passage is entered by a door at the south-east corner of the south transept of the abbey, now for many centuries the special burial place for poets, eminent and otherwise. This passage descends by a flight of steep steps to the crypt itself, and the flight originally seems, I am told—doubtless as another precaution against

robbery—to have been a broken one suggesting that a steep drop, presumably spanned by a short ladder, further barred access to the crypt. We must remember, too, that this sole access to the treasury was within a few feet of the sacristy of the abbey. The sacristy was the chapel to the south of the south transept, and communicating with it where the sacrist kept the precious vessels appropriated to the service of the altar. Altogether it looks as if the crypt were originally intended as a store-house for such church treasure as the sacrist did not need for his immediate purposes. From this use it was diverted, as we have seen, to the keeping of the royal treasures. Nowadays the sacristy is called the chapel of St. Faith and is used for purposes of private devotion. We must not forget the close connexion in our period of the sacristy and the crypt. The connexion becomes significant when we remember that among Pudlicott's monastic boon companions at the palace-keeper's lodge was the sacrist of the abbey, Adam of Warfield.

Pudlicott had made up his mind to steal the king's treasure. The practical problem was how to get access to it. If we examine the evidence collected at the enquiry, we find that there are two discrepant accounts as to how the robber effected his purpose. The one is warranted by the testimony of a large number of sworn juries of reputable citizens of every ward in the city of London, of burgesses of Westminster, and of the good men of every hundred in the adjacent shires of Middlesex and Surrey. It is—like much truthful evidence—rather vague, but its general tendency is, while recognizing that Pudlicott is the prime offender, to make various monks and palace officers his accomplices. Of the latter category William of the Palace seems to have been the most active, while of the many monks Adam Warfield the sacrist was the most generally denounced. But the proved share of both Adam and William was based largely on the discovery of stolen property in their possession. The evidence of the juries suggests theories as to how the crime may have been perpetrated ; it does not make the methods of the culprits clear and palpable. But it suggests that masons and carpenters were called in, so that some breaking in of the structure was attempted, and in particular it suggests that the churchyard was the thoroughfare through which the robbers removed their booty.

Let us turn next to Pudlicott's own confession, that remarkable document from which I have already borrowed many details, though

seldom without a word of warning. According to his confession, Pudlicott, having resolved to rob the treasury, came to the conclusion that the best way to tackle the business was to pierce a hole through the wall of thirteen feet of stone that supported the lower story of the chapter house. For so colossal a task time was clearly needed. Richard accordingly devoted himself during the dark nights of winter and early spring to drilling through the solid masonry. He attacked the building from the churchyard or eastern side, having access thereto from the palace. But the churchyard was open to the parish and the thrifty churchwardens of St. Margaret's had let to a neighbouring butcher the right of grazing his sheep in it. Now the butcher was told that his privilege was withdrawn, and passers-by were sent round by another path. This was a precaution against the casual wayfarer seeing the hole which was daily growing larger. To hide from the casual observer the great gash in the stonework, Richard tells us that he sowed hempseed in the churchyard near the hole, and that this grew so rapidly that the tender hemp plants not only hid the gap in the wall, but provided cover for him to hide the spoils he hoped to steal from the treasury. When the hole was complete on 24 April, Pudlicott went through and found to his delight that the chamber was full of baskets, chests, and other vessels for holding valuables, plate, relics, jewels, and gold florins of Florence. Richard remained in the crypt gloating over the treasure surrounding him from the evening of 24 April to the morning of 26 April. Perhaps he found it impossible to tear himself away from so much wealth ; or perhaps the intervening day, being the feast of St. Mark, there were too many people about, and too many services in the abbey to make his retreat secure. However, he managed on the morning of 26 April to get away, taking with him as much as he could carry. He seems to have dropped, or to have left lying about, a good deal that he was unable to carry, possibly for his friends to pick up.

Such is Pudlicott's story. It is the tale of a bold ruffian who glories in his crime, and is proud to declare "I alone did it". But there was a touch of heroism and of devotion in our hero thus taking on himself the whole blame. He voluntarily made himself the scapegoat of an offence for which scores were charged, and in particular he took on his own shoulders the heavy share of responsibility which belonged to the negligent monks of Westminster. Now as to the credibility of Pudlicott's story, we must admit that some of the juries accepted evi-

dence that corroborated some parts of it. Sworn men declared their belief that the crypt was approached from the outside ; that masons and carpenters were employed on the business ; that the churchyard was closely guarded, and access refused, even to the butcher who rented the grazing. It is clear too that the booty was got rid of through the churchyard, and that piecemeal. There is evidence even that hemp was sown, though the verdict of a jury cannot alter the conditions of vegetable growth in an English winter. We must allow too that it is pretty certain that Warfield had not the custody of the keys of the crypt ; though he was doubtless able to give facilities for tampering with the door or forcing the lock. Yet Pudlicott's general story remains absolutely incredible. It was surely impossible to break through the solid wall, and no incuriousness or corruption would account for wall-piercing operations being unnoticed, when carried on in the midst of a considerable population for three months on end. Some of Pudlicott's lies were inconceivable in their crudity. Is it likely that hemp, sown at Christmas-time, would, before the end of April, afford sufficient green cover to hide the hole in the wall, and to secrete gleaming articles of silver within its thick recesses ? And how are we to believe that there was a great gaping hole in the wall of the crypt when nothing was heard of the crime for several weeks after its perpetration, and no details of the king's losses were known until two months after the burglary, when the keeper of the Wardrobe unlocked the door of the treasury and examined its contents ? A more artistic liar would have made his confession more convincing.

What really happened seems to me to have been something like this. I have no doubt that Pudlicott got into the treasury by the simple process of his friend, Adam of Warfield, giving him facilities for forcing the door or perhaps breaking a window. He remained in the crypt a long time so that he might hand out its contents to confederates who, as we learn from the depositions, ate, drank, and revelled till midnight for two nights running in a house within the precincts of the Fleet prison, and then went armed and horsed to Westminster, returning towards daybreak loaded with booty. But not only the revellers in Shenche's headquarters, but many monks, many abbey servants, the custodians of the palace, the leading goldsmiths of the city, and half the neighbours must have been cognisant of, if not participating in, the crime. It speaks well for honour among thieves, that it was not

until deplorable indiscretions were made in the disposal of the booty that any news of the misdeed reached the ears of any of the official custodians of the treasure.

Suspicion of the crime was first excited by the discovery of fragments of the spoil in all sorts of unexpected places. A fisherman, plying his craft in the then silver Thames, netted a silver goblet which had evidently been the property of the king. Passers by found cups, dishes, and similar precious things hidden behind tombstones and other rough hiding-places in St. Margaret's Churchyard. Boys playing in the neighbouring fields found pieces of plate concealed under hedgerows. Such discoveries were made as far from Westminster as Kentish Town. Moreover, many other people lighted upon similar pieces of treasure trove. Foreign money found its way into the hands of the money-changers at London, York, and Lymm, and other remote parts. The city goldsmiths were the happy receivers of large amounts of silver plate, among them, I regret to say, being William Torel, the artist-goldsmith, whose skill in metal work has left such an abiding mark in the decorations of the abbey church. There were, too, scandalous stories whispered abroad. One of them was that a woman of loose life explained her possession of a precious ring by relating that it was given her by Dom Adam the sacrist "so that she should become his friend".

Such tales soon made the story of the robbery common property. At last it came to the ears of the king and his ministers, then encamped at Linlithgow for the Scottish war. Thereupon, on 6 June, the king appointed a special commission of judges to investigate the matter. On 20 June, John Droxford, the keeper of the wardrobe, came to Westminster with the keys of the crypt, and then and only then did any official examination of the treasury take place. An entry was made into the crypt and the damage which had been done was inspected. The result is still to be read in an inventory of the treasures lost and the treasures found which Droxford drew up, and which may now be studied in print.

It is pleasant to say that by the time Droxford went to work much of the treasure, which had been scattered broadcast, was being brought back and that more was soon to follow. The first investigations as to where the treasure had been carried led to fruitful results. A good deal of it was found hidden beneath the beds of the keeper of the

palace and of his assistant. Still more was found in the lodgings of Richard Pudlicott and his mistress. Adam the sacrist, and some of his brother monks and their servants, were discovered to be in possession of other missing articles. Altogether, when Droxford had finished his inventory, a large proportion of the articles which had been lost were reclaimed. Ultimately it seems that the losses were not very severe.

Wholesale arrests were now made. Richard Pudlicott was apprehended on 25 June, and William of the Palace soon experienced the same fate. Before long the connexion which the monks had had with the business seemed so well established that the whole convent, including the abbot and forty-eight monks, were indicted and sent to the Tower, where they were soon joined by thirty-two other persons. This time the king's net had spread rather too widely, and the indiscriminate arrest of guilty and innocent excited some measure of sympathy, even for the guilty. The majority of the clerical prisoners were released on bail, but some half-dozen laymen and ten monks were still kept in custody. Both the released and the imprisoned culprits raised a great outcry, sending petitions to the king demanding a further enquiry into the whole matter.

The first commission meanwhile had been empanelling juries and collecting evidence. But the matter was so serious that in November a second royal commission was appointed to hear and determine the matter. The members of this second commission were chosen from among the most eminent of the king's judges, including the chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Roger Brabazon and the shrewdest judge of the time, William Bereford, afterwards chief justice of common pleas.

I have already indicated in outline the result of the investigations of the two judicial commissions. I have told you how juries were empanelled from every hundred in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and from the wards of the city of London and from Westminster. The details of the evidence are worthy of more special treatment than I can give them here, because they afford a wonderful picture of the loose-living, easy-going, slack, negligent, casual, and criminal doings of mediaeval men and women. I must, however, be content to restate the general result of the trials. Richard of Pudlicott was found guilty. Various other people, including William of the Palace, and certain monks, were declared accomplices, while Adam

Warfield was shrewdly suspected to be at the bottom of the whole business. More than a year was spent in investigations, and it was not until March, 1304, eleven months after the burglary, that William of the Palace and five other lay culprits were comfortably hanged.

The great problem was how to deal with the clerical offenders without adding to the king's difficulties by rousing the sleeping dogs of the church, always ready to bark when the state meditated any infringement of the claim of all clerks to be subject solely to the ecclesiastical tribunals. Accordingly Richard of Pudlicott, and ten monks were reserved for further treatment. Pudlicott, as we have seen, had been a tonsured person in his youth, and he probably claimed, as did the monks, benefit of clergy. It was probably now that Pudlicott nobly tried to shield his monastic allies by his extraordinary confession. His heroism, however, availed him nothing. But whatever his zeal for the church, Edward I was upon adequate occasion ready to ride rough-shod over clerical privileges, and he always bitterly resented any attempt of a culprit, who had lived as a layman, trying to shield himself on the pretext that he had been a clerk in his youth. His corrupt chief justice, Thomas Weyland, had sought to evade condemnation by resuming the tonsure and clerical garb which he had worn before he abandoned his orders to become a knight, a country squire, and the founder of a family of landed gentry. But Weyland's subdiaconate did not save him from exile and loss of land and goods. Pudlicott's sometime clerical character had even less power to preserve him. He also paid tardily the capital penalty for his misdeed. But it was surely his clergy that kept him alive in prison for more than two years after the date of the commission of his crime.

The fate of the incriminated clerks still hung in the balance when in the spring of 1305 Edward came back in triumph to London, rejoicing that at last he had effected the thorough conquest of Scotland. His cheerful frame of mind made him listen readily to the demands of the monks of Westminster to have pity on their unfortunate brethren, and to comply with the more general clerical desire that ecclesiastical privilege should be respected. Only a few months after the burglary, the news of the outrage on pope Boniface VIII at Anagni had filled all Christendom with horror. At the instance of Philip the Fair, king of France, and his agents in Italy the pope was seized, maltreated, and insulted. In the indignant words of Dante, "Christ was again crucified in the

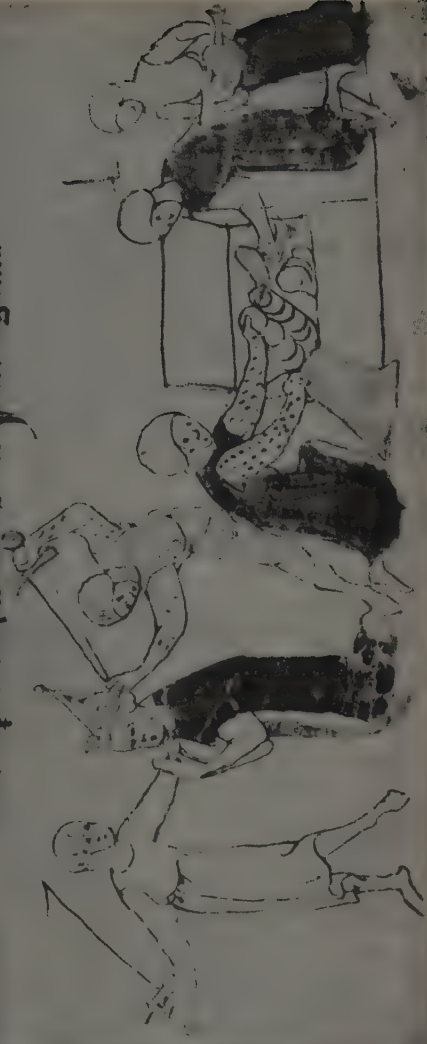
person of his vicar". The universal feeling of resentment against so wanton a violation of ecclesiastical privilege was ingeniously used in favour of the monks of Westminster. Among the monks, arrested at first, but soon released with the majority of their brethren, were two men who had some reputation as historians. One of these was magnanimous enough to write, two or three years afterwards, a sort of funeral eulogy of Edward, but the other, Robert of Reading, who, in my opinion, kept the official chronicle of the abbey from 1302 to 1326, set forth the Westminster point of view very effectively in the well-known version of the chronicle called *Flores Historiarum*, the original manuscript of which is now in the Chetham Library. In this is given what may be regarded as the official account of Richard's burglary. The robbery of the king of England was a crime only comparable to the robbery of the treasure of Boniface VIII, six months later at Anagni. The chronicler is most indignant at the suggestion that the monks had anything to do with the matter, and laments passionately their long imprisonment and their unmerited sufferings. He relies in substance on the story as told in Pudlicott's confession. The burglary was effected by a single robber.

So lacking in humour was the Westminster annalist that he did not scruple to borrow the phraseology and the copious Scriptural citations of a certain "Passion of the monks of Westminster according to John," the whole text of which is unfortunately not extant. I may say, however, that the species of composition called a "Passion" was particularly in vogue at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and is mainly characterised by its extraordinary skill in parodying the words of the Scripture in order to describe in mock heroic vein some incident of more or less undeserved suffering. For profanity, grim humour, and misapplied knowledge of the Vulgate the "passions" of this period have no equal. They are a curious illustration of the profane humour of the mediaeval ecclesiastic in his lighter moments.

The Westminster annalist did not stand alone. Other monastic chroniclers took up and accepted his story. It became the accepted monastic doctrine that one robber only had stolen the king's treasure, and that therefore the monks of Westminster were unwarrantably accused. One writer added to his text a crude illustration of how, it was imagined, Pudlicott effected his purpose. You may see opposite this page his rude pictorial representation of the "one robber" kneeling

leo rex
 i nisi prius
 mo uinre
 nites quā
 et uir. et
 nites
 em se & sua

curat forsitan est dicitur. In reg animalib; oriunt
 dicit monachos p thsauria sua in carceratos.
 Hoc nomen horronis ē nomē suspitor statim
 malū. Cum enī in carcerat quisquam, hoc inde
 conicio. Aut enim maledicens iussis pnapū.
 aut trisgissor regie parat. Respondet. O di
 dme sup te conquere uox eor. Iuxta dignum



THE OUTRAGE AT ANAGNI.

h. cc. iii.

Anglia lata tunc gens scocia pugnat inane.
anno regni regis eduardi quarto se-
cundo papa benedictus dñi apud primum
urbem dei populo predicavit: ut crā deploratū
abominabile exitum in uicariū ihu xpī i
petri commissum. nec tantū casum psonē de-
fle-
uit. quinimo ipm xpīm a militibz pilati tñm
spoliari asserens captū dampnandū. tanq̃
remortuū planxit in carue uelut i sepulcro
triduo a militibz custoditū. nō ut dicit apls
xp̄s resurgens ex mortuis iam nō mort⁹. crā
uicariū est in carne iam glorificata. & sicut dix-
it xp̄s petro int̄roganti. dñe quo uadis: an-
tenio romā tñm crucifigi. Intellexit q̃ hoc



THE OULAGE AT WESTMINSTER.

on the grass in the churchyard, and picking up by a hand and arm extended through the broken window the precious stores within. But Pudlicott's arm must have been longer than the arm of justice to effect this operation, and must have been twice or thrice the length of a tall man. This same chronicler was not contented with repeating the parallel now recognised between the sufferings of the monks of Westminster, under their unjust accusations, and the passion of pope Boniface, five months later, at the hands of the robbers hired by the ruthless king of France. He must give a picture of the Anagni outrage as well as of the orthodox version of the Westminster burglary. How far he has succeeded, you may gather from the rude sketch figured on the opposite page. Not only does he give us so vivid a picture of pope Boniface's sufferings from the rude soldiery that the drawing might well be used as a representation of a martyrdom, like that of St. Thomas of Canterbury. His sketch of three other sacrilegious warriors, rifling the huge chest that contained the papal treasures, skilfully suggests that robbery was the common motive that united the outrage at Anagni to the outrage at Westminster. He leaves us to draw the deeper moral that the sinful desire of unhallowed laymen to bring holy church and her ministers into discredit was the ultimate root of both these scandals.

Edward was satisfied with his Scottish campaign ; he was becoming old and tired ; he was pleased to know that a great deal of the lost treasure had been recovered ; and he was always anxious to avoid scandal, and to minimise any disagreement with the monks of his father's foundation. He, therefore, condoned what he could not remedy. He soon released all the monks from prison. He even restored Shenche to his hereditary office of the keepership of the palace. Richard of Pudlicott alone was offered up to vengeance. In October, 1305, Richard was hanged, regardless of his clergy.

Affairs at the monastery of Westminster were not improved after these events. There was much quarrelling among the monks. Walter of Wenlock died. There were disputes as to his succession ; an unsatisfactory appointment was made, and there was a considerable amount of strife for a generation. The feeling against the king was shown equally against his son, and is reflected in the bitter Westminster chronicle of the reign of Edward II. One result of the demonstration of the futility of storing valuables within the precincts

of the abbey was that the chief treasury of the wardrobe was bodily transferred to the Tower of London.

Some obvious morals might be drawn from this slight but not un-picturesque story ; but I will forbear from printing them. One generalisation I will, however, venture to make by way of conclusion. The strongest impression left by the records of the trial is one of the slackness and the easy-going ways of the mediaeval man. The middle ages do not often receive fair treatment. Some are, perhaps, too apt to idealise them, as an age of heroic piety, with its statesmen, saints, heroes, artists, and thinkers ; but such people are in all ages the brilliant exceptions. The age of St. Francis of Assisi, of Dante, of Edward I, of St. Louis of France, of St. Thomas Aquinas, the age in which the greatest buildings of the world were made, was a great time and had its great men. But the middle ages were a period of strange contrasts. Shining virtues and gross vices stood side by side. The contrasts between the clearly cut black and white of the thirteenth century are attractive to us immersed in the continuous grey of our own times. But we find our best analogies to mediaeval conditions in those which are nowadays stigmatised as Oriental. Conspicuous among them was a deep pervading shiftlessness and casualness. Mediaeval man was never up to time. He seldom kept his promise, not through malice, but because he never did to-day what could be put off till to-morrow or the next day.

Pudlicott then is a typical mediaeval criminal. He was doubtless a scamp, but most of the people with whom he had dealings were loose-thinking, easy-going folk like himself. Of course there are always the exceptions. But Edward I, with his gift of persistence, was a peculiarly exceptional type in the middle ages, and even Edward I found it convenient to let things slide in small matters. Thus on this occasion Edward began his investigation with great show of care and determination to sift the whole matter ; but when he found that thorny problems were being stirred up, he determined—not for the first time—to let sleeping dogs lie, and avoid further scandal.

We must not, however, build up too large a superstructure of theory on this petty story of the police courts, plus a mild ecclesiastical scandal. Nor must we emphasize too much or generalise too largely from the signs of slackness and negligence shown in mediaeval trials. I become more and more averse to facile generalisation about the middle

ages or mediaeval man. They may, moreover, be made in both directions. On the one side we have the doctrine of our greatest of recent scholars, bishop Stubbs, that the thirteenth century was the greatest century of the middle ages, the flowering type of mediaeval christianity and so on. But on the other hand there is the contradictory generalisation of students, like my friend Mr. Coulton, who surveys the time from St. Francis to Dante with the conviction that the so-called great days of faith were the days of unrestrained criminality and violence. Both these views can be argued ; but neither are really convincing. They seem to me to be obtained by looking at one side of the question only. A more fruitful doctrine is surely the view that ordinary mediaeval men were not so very unlike ourselves, and that their virtues and vices were not those of saints or ruffians, but were not wholly out of relation to the ordinary humdrum virtues and vices that are found to-day.

NOTES.

I. NOTE ON AUTHORITIES.

The accounts of the robbery of the king's treasury in the Chronicles are vitiated by the obvious desire of the writers, who were mainly monks, to minimise the scandal to "religion" involved in the suspected complicity of the Westminster monks. This is seen even in the moderate account originating at St. Alban's Abbey, and contained in William Rishanger's *Chronicle* (Rolls Series), pp. 222 and 225, and also in the other St. Alban's version in *Gesta Edwardi Primi*, published in the same volume, pp. 420-1. The bias is naturally at its worst in the Westminster Abbey Chronicle, printed in *Flores Historiarum*, III. 115, 117, 121, and 131 (Rolls Series), which is more valuable perhaps as an index of Westminster opinion than as a dispassionate statement of the facts. The chief manuscript of this chronicle is preserved in the Chetham Library, Manchester [MS. Chetham No. 6712]. It was certainly written by a Westminster monk, and, perhaps after 1302, by Robert of Reading, who undoubtedly was the author of the account of the reign of Edward II. If Robert wrote the story of the robbery, it should be remembered that he was one of the forty-nine monks indicted and sent to the Tower on a charge of complicity in it. There are useful and more impartial notices in the non-monastic *Annales*

Londonienses in Stubbs' *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 130, 131, 132, and 134 (Rolls Series). These date the robbery on 2 May.

The *Chronicles* being thus under suspicion, we must go for our main knowledge of the story to record sources, many of which are fortunately accessible in print. Palgrave's *Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, i. 251-99 (Record Commission, 1836), publishes the writs appointing the two commissions of enquiry and the verdicts of the juries empanelled by them. The writs are also in Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 956, 959 (Record Commission). The confession of Richard Pudlicott is printed in an English translation in H. Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, pp. 25-8, and also in L. O. Pike's *History of Crime in England*, Vol. i. The French original can be read in *Exchequer Accounts*, K. R., 332/8. Cole's *Records* (Record Commission, 1844) prints the indenture in which Droxford, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, specifies the jewels lost and recovered. Some entries in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* and the *Calendar of Close Rolls* usefully supplement the continuous records.

There are several fairly full modern accounts, the majority of which are not quite satisfactory. That in Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* is more eloquent than critical. H. Harrod's article in *Archæologia*, LXIV. 375, "on the crypt of the chapter house at Westminster," is valuable for its clear identification of the crypt under the chapter house with the scene of the robbery. Equally useful is J. Burt's important paper "On some discoveries in connexion with the ancient treasury of Westminster," published in G. G. Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, pp. 18-33. The two fullest modern accounts are in L. O. Pike's *History of Crime in England*, i. 199-203 and 466-7, and Hubert Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, pp. 18-33. The latter is perhaps the better because, though telling the story in a book dealing with the exchequer, it recognises that the treasury robbed was the treasury of the wardrobe. There are, however, materials for a more detailed critical narrative than has hitherto been attempted.

II. NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The two rough drawings, figured in the text, are reproduced from f. 192d of a Manuscript Chronicle in the British Museum [*MS. Cotton*,

Nero, D. ii.]. The first, opposite p. 19, represents the story of the robbery of the treasury of the wardrobe "by a single robber," which this chronicle, following the Westminster version, adopts. The second, opposite p. 20, depicts the outrage on Boniface VIII by the agents of Philip the Fair at Anagni, in September, 1303. This picture of the attack on the pope emphasizes the comparison made by the sympathetic monastic writers between the scandal of Anagni and the analogous outrage on the church by the imprisonment of the monks of Westminster. The photographs were taken by the permission of the Principal Librarian of the British Museum by the Artists Illustrators, Limited.

The rough plan of Westminster Abbey and the adjoining royal palace is taken from that published in Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, p. 31. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Hubert Hall and to his publisher, Mr. Elliott Stock, for permission to reproduce this.

“FILIA MAGISTRI.”

UN ABREGÉ DES SENTENCES DE PIERRE LOMBARD

NOTES SUR UN MANUSCRIT LATIN CONSERVÉ À LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE JOHN RYLANDS À MANCHESTER,

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LOUVAIN.

LORS de la vente des livres de George Dunn, de Woolley Hall près Maidenhead, en février 1913, la bibliothèque John Rylands acquit deux volumes de manuscrits latins composés d'un choix d'œuvres dûes à différents auteurs. La date à la quelle ces pages furent écrites n'est pas postérieure au XIII siècle. Conformément à une note que l'on trouve au bas du premier folio et fréquemment au cours du volume, elles virent le jour dans un monastère : *liber sancte marie de camberone*, que l'on croit être l'abbaye cistercienne de Cambron, fondée en 1148, du vivant de S. Bernard, et située S-O d'Enghien, dans l'ancien comté de Hainaut, diocèse de Cambrai.¹

Je dois à l'aimable obligeance de M. H. Guppy, bibliothécaire, d'avoir pu prendre connaissance de ces manuscrits, qui depuis de longues années avaient été enfermés dans le secret d'une bibliothèque privée.

Dans le premier de ces volumes, dont aucun n'est paginé, commence au folio 74^r une Somme de Sentences, par ces mots : *Quoniam velut quatuor paradisi flumina* . . . Elle occupe la plus grande place dans cette collection et en constitue le principal élément.

C'est cet ouvrage qui fait l'objet de cette note. Il mérite l'atten-

¹ V. LEOP. JANAUSCHEK, *Origines Cistercienses*, in 4^o, t. I, p. 113. Vindobonae, 1877.

tion de tous ceux qu'intéresse l'histoire de la théologie médiévale. J'ai tâché d'examiner brièvement 1° la diffusion de cette oeuvre ; 2° d'en indiquer le contenu, les caractères qui la distinguent et la place qu'elle occupe parmi d'autres travaux du même genre ; 3° d'en rechercher l'auteur et la date de composition.

1. DIFFUSION DE CETTE ŒUVRE.

Le manuscrit que possède maintenant la bibliothèque John Rylands n'est pas la seule copie de cette oeuvre, qui soit parvenue jusqu'à nous. Il en existe d'autres. Déjà en 1885, le P. Denifle, O.P., qui attribuait cette Somme de Sentences au dominicain Hugues de S. Cher, professeur à l'Université de Paris depuis 1230, en avait signalé sept manuscrits, dont deux sont conservés en Allemagne, trois en France, un en Autriche, et un en Belgique.¹ Récemment, j'en ai trouvé deux autres en Angleterre : Cambridge, Trinity College, cod. B. 14, 6 ;² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canoniciana, cod. 208³ ; tous deux datent du XV^e siècle.

Tous ces manuscrits présentent plus d'une divergence. Les uns sont absolument sans titre ; d'autres sont intitulés : *Liber sententiarum abbreviatus*, *Sententie abbreviate*, etc. Quelques uns, en témoignage, sans doute, des liens étroits qui rattachent cette oeuvre à Pierre Lombard, portent la gracieuse étiquette : *Filia Magistri*.

Le MS. conservé à la Bibliothèque John Rylands n'a pas de titre. Il constitue un des plus beaux spécimen de l'écriture au XIII^e siècle. Il est écrit de la même main, du commencement jusqu'au bout, en lettres gothiques noires ; les petites lettres *a e n*, etc., mesurent 3 millim. ; les lettres à hastes en mesurent 4½. Les lignes sont distancées

¹ Cfr. H. DENIFLE, O.P., *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte*, t. I, p. 589 (Berlin, 1885) : Hugo (a S. Caro) kürzte ebenfalls die Sentenzen . . . (note 4) : Hss sind Codd. lat. mon. 21048 und 5307 ; Paris, 3423 und 16412 ; Laon, n. 321 ; Brügge, 82 (ceci est une faute d'impression, il s'agit du n. 80) ; Lambach, n. CXXXVII.

² Cfr. Dr. M. R. JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A descriptive Catalogue*. Cambridge, 1900. T. I, p. 409.

³ Le Dr. M. A. G. LITTLE l'avait déjà signalé dans son ouvrage : *Initia operum latinorum quae saeculis XIII.-XIV. attribuuntur* . . . 1 vol. in 8°, p. 211. Manchester, 1904.

de 5 millim. ; et le texte du folio occupe un espace de 10 centim. sur 6.

Ce qui est plus important à noter, c'est que ces divers MSS. n'ont pas tous la même ampleur. D'aucuns n'ont pas la préface, ni la division des matières qui se lisent en d'autres exemplaires, et commencent directement par le premier Livre : *Veteris ac nove legis continentiam considerantibus nobis innotuit*. . . .

Quant au texte même de ces Sentences, il est moins étendu dans une copie que dans l'autre ; il fut des copistes qui se sont plus soit à l'abrégé, soit à le développer.

Le texte du MS. de la bibliothèque John Rylands n'est pas des plus sommaires.

J'ajoute que d'après d'anciens catalogues, la "Filia Magistri" était représentée cinq fois à l'abbaye S. Augustin, à Cantorbéry. Le catalogue du prieuré S. Martin à Douvres en signale trois autres exemplaires, sous ces titres : *Tractatus super librum sententiarum*, *Glosa super sentencias*, *Liber sententiarum* (ce dernier sans prologue).¹

Ces détails non seulement nous renseignent sur le fait de la diffusion de cette œuvre, mais ils nous montrent également sous quelles différentes formes elle s'est répandue dans les Écoles. Encore au XV^e siècle, on trouvait utile d'en augmenter le nombre d'exemplaires.

2. ANALYSE ET CARACTÈRES

Déjà, il a été dit, que l'ouvrage qui nous occupe est une Somme de Sentences. J'ajouterai qu'il traite principalement des matières théologiques.

A part la préface, il est divisé en quatre Livres, dans lesquels il est successivement question de Dieu et de la T. S. Trinité, de la Creation, de la Rédemption et des Sacrements. Il n'y a ni épilogue, ni table de matières.

Chaque livre se compose de deux éléments : texte et notes.

A parcourir attentivement le texte, l'on voit tout de suite qu'il ne

¹ V. Dr. M. R. JAMES, *The ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*. 1 vol. in 8°, p. 443, n. 77 ; p. 493, n. 436 ; p. 441, n. 51. Cambridge, 1903.

s'agit pas d'une composition originale, mais d'un résumé du Livre des Sentences de Pierre Lombard.

Les notes constituent un élément parfaitement distinct du texte. Dans le présent MS. elles sont écrites en petits caractères et placées de telle sorte qu'il n'y a pas moyen de les confondre avec le texte : ce qui n'est pas le cas dans tous les MSS. Les notes ne sont pas suivies, et un petit nombre de folios ne comportent pas de notes. Elles sont en outre, d'une étendue et d'un caractère différents. Les unes très brèves, expliquent un terme, approuvent ou désapprouvent, en deux mots parfois, une opinion, et sont interlinéaires. Les autres sont plus longues ; elles empiètent sur l'espace destiné d'abord à recevoir le texte—qui, par suite, se retrécit—et s'alignent d'une façon très régulière le long du passage qu'elles sont appelées à compléter. Ce sont généralement des exposés d'opinions nouvelles, parfois des notes explicatives.

C'est ce deuxième élément : les notes, qui donne à cet abrégé des Sentences sa physionomie propre, et lui assure une place à part parmi les travaux du même genre.

Il existe, en effet, divers groupes d'abrégés des Sentences de Pierre Lombard. En voici un essai de classification :—

1. La plupart sont en prose, quelques uns en vers.¹
2. Il y en a qui abrègent d'une manière suivie tout le texte du Lombard ; j'y reviendrai.
3. D'autres ne présentent qu'un choix des questions les plus intéressantes.²

¹ Au sujet de ces abrégés en vers, dont quelques uns avaient pour but d'aider la mémoire, cfr. J. DE GHELLINCK, S.I., *Mediaeval Theology in Verse*, dans *The Irish Theological Quarterly*, 1914, p. 336. Outre les MSS. dont il y est fait mention, je signalerai encore trois autres : St. John's College, Cambridge, cod. F. 18, fo 101-121 ; cod. 6628 de la bibl. Harley au British Museum, fo 188-205. Au début et à la fin, cet ouvrage est attribué à S. Bonaventure. La question d'authenticité est discutée par les Editeurs du Docteur Sèraphique : S. Bonaventuri opera omnia . . . vol. I, *praef. gener.* p. xv. Quaracchi, 1882. Item, cod. Harley 6628, fo 206v-208 : *Versus super 4 Libros sententiarum singulas distinctiones per singulas dictiones patefacientes*. Un fragment de cette dernière œuvre se retrouve aussi, toutefois avec des variantes, à Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, n. 524, fo 91b.93a.

² Cfr. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, n. 518 (Elbing MSS., N. 20), fo 1-43a : *Questiones sententiarum* ; Pembroke College, cod. 101, fo 41-46 : *Excepciones libri sententiarum*.

4. D'autres encore fournissent une simple explication des termes.¹

5. Parfois même le Livre des Sentences est condensé dans des tableaux synoptiques² ou réduit à une table des matières analytique,³ voire même alphabétique.⁴

6. Il y a des résumés d'abregés antérieurs.⁵

7. Chose assez étrange, certains abrégiateurs ont omis tout le premier livre ; ils n'ont abrégé que les trois derniers⁶ ou seulement le deuxième.⁷

8. Parmi ceux qui abrègent d'une manière suivie tout le texte du Lombard, nous en trouvons qui ne sont rien de plus que de simples abrégés. L'abrégiateur n'a rien ajouté du sien, ni notes explicatives, ni textes d'autres auteurs. Par contre, il y a certains exemplaires où l'abrégiateur s'est départi du texte des Sentences, soit en insérant certaines opinions dont P. Lombard n'a pas fait mention, soit en faisant une légère critique du texte, soit en expliquant le sens et la portée de certains passages. On peut les appeler des abrégés mixtes. Il arrive que le lecteur n'est pas averti de ce surplus de matières ; la

¹ Dublin, Trinity College, cod. 275, fo 119-129. Oxford, Balliol College, n. 230. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 459, fo 114-124. Dans la première de ces copies, ce lexique est attribué à Roger de Salesbury : *Expliciunt verborum significationes super librum sententiarum secundum magistrum Rogerum de Salesburis*.

² Cfr. British Museum, bibl. reg. cod. 9 B. VI, fo 2r-3v ; 19v-24.

³ *Ibid.* fol. 4r-16v. Cette table constitue un ensemble de 1870 articles. A comparer, Balliol College, Oxford, cod. 3.

⁴ British Museum, bibl. reg. cod. 9, B. VI, fo 17rb-19ra ; *ibid.* cod. 9 B. VIII, fo 337va (fragment, qui s'arrête au mot *Baptismus* . . .) ; autre fragment Brit. Museum, cod. 18899, fo 2v-3b. Quelques unes de ces tables ont été attribuées à Robert de Kylwardby, O.Pr. Je ne sais de quel droit.

⁵ Oxford, New College, cod. E. CXLV, fo 13-50, est un résumé de l'abrégé des Sentences à la Bodleian, Laud. misc. 397. Les *Flores sententiarum magistri Gandulphi*, Bamberg, Kgl. Bibliothek, cod. B. IV, 29, fo 126v-142r, sont des extraits de l'abrégé de Pierre Lombard par Gandulphe de Bologne. Certains exemplaires de la *Filia Magistri*.

⁶ Le Dr. M. GRABMANN, *Geschichte der Scholast. Methode*, t. II (1911), p. 389, a le premier, attiré l'attention sur cette particularité. Il cite comme exemple, Paris, bibl. nationale, cod. lat. 15747.

⁷ Cfr. Dr. GRABMANN, loc. cit., où sont mentionnés, Paris, bibl. nationale, cod. lat. 627 et München, Kgl. Hof u. Staatsbibl. cod. lat. 2596.

plupart du temps cependant l'abréviateur a eu soin de signaler ce qui constitue son œuvre personnelle.¹

La "Filia Magistri" rentre dans cette dernière catégorie d'abrégés. C'est un abrégé mixte. L'auteur a eu en vue deux choses : fournir un texte succinct de l'œuvre de Pierre Lombard, et indiquer la marche des idées théologiques depuis la publication des Sentences jusqu'à l'époque où il écrit lui-même. Il a voulu rajeunir une œuvre déjà ancienne, tout en lui conservant les traits essentiels d'origine. C'est un résumé des Sentences *up to date*, mais les éléments nouveaux n'ont pas étouffé le texte ancien ; ils l'ont mis davantage en relief.

¹ A ces deux groupes, il faut ramener les divers abrégés qui suivent :—

1. Les *Sententie* de Gandulphe de Bologne. H. DENIFLE, O.P., et le Dr. GRABMANN en ont retrouvé plusieurs copies. Cfr. Grabmann, loc. cit. p. 389. Le mérite d'avoir prouvé que cette œuvre n'est qu'un résumé de Pierre Lombard revient à J. DE GHELLINCK, S.I., *Le Mouvement théologique au XII^e siècle*, pp. 191-223. Paris, 1914.

2. *Abbreviatio magistri Bandini* . . . München, cod. lat. 9652 ; Paris, Mazarine, n. 694 (917) ; Bruxelles, bibl. royale, n. 1485-1501, fo 168. (La notice consacrée à cette Somme de Sentences par J. VAN DEN GHEYN, S.I., *Catalogue des Manuscrits*, etc., T. I, p. 96, n. 214, a besoin de corrections.)—Cf. MIGNE, *Patrologie latine*, t. CXCLII, 965-1112.

3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 397. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 477.

4. Cambridge, St. John's College, cod. E. 17, fo 3-70r.

5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 461. British Museum, bibl. reg. 9 A. XI, sous le titre : *Questiones super libros sententiarum*. Cet abrégé est postérieur à 1248. S. Bonaventure est cité dans 9 A. XI, au fo 77.

6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 273.

7. *Breviarium sententiarum* : British Museum, bibl. reg. 7, F. XIII, fo 129. Paris, Mazarine, n. 984 (1049) fo 1-132. Oxford, Magdalen College, n. 40 ; Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. n. 513. Dublin, Trinity College, n. 275, fo 1-118. Dans cette dernière copie, l'abrégé est attribué à Simon de Tournai.

8. Troyes, bibl. de la ville, cod. 1371, fo 88-111v également attribué à Simon de Tournai.

Il m'a été impossible d'examiner le MS. 560 de la bibliothèque de l'université de Gand, signalé par J. de Ghellinck, *op. cit.* p. 165, n. 2. Je ne saurais dire s'il constitue un abrégé distinct de ceux énumérés ci-dessus. Je dois dire la même chose au sujet du cod. Paris, bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 14534. D'après N. Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, p. 187, Paris, 1880, il renferme un ésumé très libre du texte des Sentences. Ce résumé est attribué à Guillaume de Paris (†1249) ; on ignore avec quel fondement.

Pierre Lombard survit tout entier et avec un éclat nouveau dans la "Filia" qui porte son nom.

Le texte de la Préface et de la division des Matières pouvant avantageusement compléter ces considérations, je le publie ci-après :—

Quoniam velut quatuor paradisi flumina libri sententiarum hortum¹ irrigant ecclesie copiose, nimirum propter eos qui brevitate gaudent expedit, ut illorum diffusio compendio temperetur—per quod evitetur mater fastidii, prolixitas—dictorum tamen ordo, librorum et continentia nescientibus aliququaliter innotescat. Igitur, opus subsequens aggrediens in nomine ihesu christi, notulas magistrales apponam aliquas ut excepta clarius elucescant.

Divisio librorum (car. rouge).

Scriptura sacra de duobus agit, de creatore scilicet et opere creatoris. Opus autem creatoris dividitur in opus creationis et recreationis et opus ultime retributionis. Item, opus recreationis subdividitur in opus quod gessit in propria persona, ut est incarnatio, passio et similia, et in opus ecclesie recreantis per sacramenta. Eleganter ergo distinxit magister opus suum in quatuor volumina, ut in primo ageret de creatore, in secundo de opere creationis, in tercio de opere recreationis quod gessit in propria persona, in quarto de opere recreationis quod gerit ecclesia mediante, scilicet de sacramentis ; tandem terminat opus suum in opere ultime retributionis.

3. AUTEUR ET DATE DE COMPOSITION.

La question touchant l'auteur de cet abrégé n'a pas encore été débattue et constitue un problème. Il est plus facile d'assigner—au moins approximativement—la date de composition de cet ouvrage.

A consulter les MSS. eux-mêmes, on constate que la plupart sont absolument vierges de toute information au sujet de l'auteur. Tels les MSS. de Bruges (XIII siècle), Manchester (XIII s.), Cambridge (XV s.). Le MS. de la Bodléenne, Canon. Patr. Lat. 208 porte cette inscription : *Incipit prologus fratris hugonis in 4 libris sententiarum*. Mais il faut se rappeler que cette copie ne date que du XV^e siècle ; le témoignage qu'elle rend en la matière n'est donc pas précisément *di primo cartello*.

Je n'ai pas eu la chance de trouver un renseignement venant du

¹ Dans les MSS. on trouve généralement *ortum*.

XIII^e siècle. Les nombreux ouvrages théologiques de cette époque, qui me sont tombés sous la main, demeurent silencieux au sujet de l'auteur de cet abrégé des Sentences.

J'ai déjà dit que le P. Denifle, O.P. avait cru trouver dans ce résumé, l'œuvre de Hugues de S. Cher. Le distingué critique n'a toutefois pas indiqué les sources qui lui avaient permis d'attribuer à ce Docteur de Paris la paternité de la "Filia Magistri".

Néanmoins l'opinion d'un maître tel que le P. Denifle, mérite d'être prise en considération. Lud. a Vallioleti († 1436) rapporte que Hugues de S. Cher a fait un *certain* abrégé des Sentences ;¹ il est certain aussi que le "*frater* Hugo" dont parle le MS. Bodl. 208 ne peut être que le *frère*-prêcher de ce nom. Examinons donc, si—à défaut de témoignages externes suffisamment précis et certains la critique interne permet de maintenir cette affirmation.

Nous savons par ailleurs que Hugues de S. Cher a composé un Commentaire des Sentences.² Y a-t-il dans cet abrégé des éléments de doctrine qui peuvent nous amener à y découvrir des liens de dépendance ou de parenté avec l'œuvre plus importante de Hugues, sa Glose des Sentences ?

Inutile, dans cet examen, de nous en rapporter au texte de l'abrégé. Il est comme nous avons dit, un pur résumé des Sentences, sans alliage. Nous devons examiner les notes qui encadrent le texte. Or, à comparer ces notes avec le Commentaire des Sentences par Hugues de S. Cher, il est absolument évident qu'elles ont été tirées de ce commentaire. Elles en reproduisent exactement les passages correspondants. Comme exemples frappants de ce fait nous pouvons citer les endroits suivants :—

Livre I, chap. sur les Notions dans la Trinité : *De notionibus multe sunt opiniones*. . . . Ces opinions, quant à leur énoncé et l'ordre dans le quel elles se suivent, sont pris du commentaire de H. de S. Ch. in 1 Libr. dist. XXVI.

Liv. II, dans la question du péché originel, la "*tercia opinio*" sur la notion de ce péché (c. a. d. l'opinion soutenue par Etienne Langton)

Ap. QUÉTIF et ECHARD, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, t. I, p. 202.

² Une très bonne copie de ce commentaire est conservé à Canterbury, Chapter Library, cod. A, 12. Je m'en suis servi en l'occurrence.

a littéralement le même exposé dans le Commentaire, l. II, dist. XXX. La critique des diverses opinions est aussi identique dans les deux endroits.

L. IV. qu. I, la différence entre le baptême du Précurseur et le baptême du Christ est signalée dans les mêmes termes et les mêmes détails que dans la Glose l. IV, dist. I.

Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples. A continuer la comparaison, on finit par constater que le fait est général ; et la conclusion s'impose, qu'il y a entre la "Filia Magistri" et la Glose des Sentences composée par Hugues de S. Cher, une dépendance très étroite, des liens d'une parenté irrécusable.

Ces faits nous autorisent-ils à affirmer que Hugues de S. Cher est l'auteur de la "Filia Magistri" ?

Je ne le pense pas. Et voici la difficulté qui s'oppose à cette solution. Il est dit dans la préface, que l'auteur se dispose à ajouter au résumé des Sentences certaines notes magistrales—*notas magistrales apponam*. Hugues de S. Cher, aurait-il été, en reproduisant ses propres Commentaires, assez pédant pour les qualifier de magistrales ? Il serait absurde même de le supposer. Et cette considération me semble amplement suffire pour refuser à Hugues de S. Cher la paternité de cet abrégé. D'autre part, ces faits m'amènent à conclure que cet abrégé est certainement dû à un des disciples de Hugues de S. Cher. Ce disciple, en puisant dans l'œuvre du fameux maître dominicain, avait raison de dire : *notas magistrales apponam*.

Quel fut ce disciple ? Je l'ignore.

Cela dit, nous pouvons déterminer sans peine la date approximative de la composition de cet abrégé.

Nous savons que Hugues de S. Cher écrivait sa Glose des Sentences pendant les années 1230-1232. La Filia Magistri n'a donc pas vu le jour avant 1232. D'autre part, il est peu raisonnable d'admettre que l'abréviateur se soit mis à l'œuvre immédiatement après la publication du Commentaire. Un court espace de temps au moins était nécessaire pour faire apprécier la Glose de Hugues de S. Cher et pour permettre de lui donner la préférence sur beaucoup d'autres. Jusqu'où étendre cet intervalle ? Albert le Grand vint à Paris en 1245, et la renommée de son enseignement dut nécessairement éclipser la gloire de Hugues de S. Cher. Je puis difficilement admettre qu'après l'arrivée d'Albert le Grand à Paris, l'on ait

encore songé à annoter un abrégé du Livre des Sentences par des extraits de Hugues de S. Cher. Avec Albert le Grand s'ouvrait à Paris une nouvelle période pour le développement des idées théologiques. La composition de l'abrégé des Sentences en question tombe donc vraisemblablement entre les années 1232 et 1245.

Je note en terminant que la "Filia Magistri" fut, dans son genre, un des derniers abrégés de Pierre Lombard. Après 1250, au lieu de résumer le texte des Sentences, on se plut davantage à abrégé les Commentaires de cette œuvre ou à résumer la doctrine théologique alors professée dans les Ecoles, dans des *Compendiums* et des *Breviloquia* qui se rattachent cependant toujours intimement au Livre des Sentences.¹

¹ Tels, Hugues Ripelin de Strasbourg, O.P. († 1268), *Compendium veritatis theologicæ*, et le franciscain Gérard de Prato, *Compendium seu breviloquium fr. Gerardi de Prato super libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*. Cfr. Grabmann, op. cit. p. 370. Gérard de Prato, près Florence, vivait vers 1278. Un des MSS. de son œuvre, non signalé par Grabmann, se retrouve dans le cod. 862 (915) de la bibliothèque Mazarine à Paris, fo 1-83. Les deux ouvrages ont reçu les honneurs de l'impression.

STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

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* * MS. note at foot of title page :—

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— *Lives. Translated . . . with notes, critical and historical, and a new life of Plutarch. By J. Langhorne . . . and W. Langhorne . . . The second edition. London*, 1774. 6 vols. 8vo.

QUINTILIANUS (Marcus Fabius) *Declamationes undeviginti. M. Fabii Avi et Calpurnii Flacci declamationes . . . cum variorum notis. Lugd. Batav. et Roterodami*, 1665. 2 vols. 8vo.

SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS (Caius) *Opera omnia quae extant, interpretatione et notis illustravit D. Crispinus, in usum Delphini. Londini*, 1726. 8vo.

SHAFTESBURY (Anthony Ashley Cooper), 3rd Earl of. *Characteristicks. London*, 1733-45. 3 vols. 12mo.

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS (Caius) *Opera omnia quae extant, interpretatione et notis illustravit A. Babelonius . . . ad usum Delphini. Londini*, 1718. 8vo.

TAYLOR (John) *D.D. of Norwich. The Hebrew concordance, adapted to the English Bible; disposed after the manner of Buxtorf. London*, 1754-57. 2 vols. Fol.

TERENTIUS AFER (Publius) Comoediae sex : ex editione Westerhoviana recensita. *Glasgae*, 1742. 8vo.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS (Caius) Historiae Romanae libri duo, cum selectis variorum notis A. Thysius edidit, et accurate recensuit. *Lugd. Batav. et Roterod.*, 1668. 8vo.

XENOPHON. De Cyri expeditione libri septem, a T. Hutchinson. Editio tertia nuper recognita. *Cantabrigiae*, 1777. 8vo.

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CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
- 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
- 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
- 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
- 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
- 070 NEWSPAPERS.
- 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
- 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
- 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
- 130 MIND AND BODY.
- 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
- 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
- 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
- 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
- 220 BIBLE.
- 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
- 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
- 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
- 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
- 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
- 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
- 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
- 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
- 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
- 340 LAW.
- 350 ADMINISTRATION.
- 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
- 370 EDUCATION.
- 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
- 390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.

400 Philology.

- 410 COMPARATIVE.
- 420 ENGLISH.
- 430 GERMAN.
- 440 FRENCH.
- 450 ITALIAN.
- 460 SPANISH.
- 470 LATIN.
- 480 GREEK.
- 490 MINOR LANGUAGES.

500 Natural Science.

- 510 MATHEMATICS.
- 520 ASTRONOMY.
- 530 PHYSICS.
- 540 CHEMISTRY.
- 550 GEOLOGY.
- 560 PALEONTOLOGY.
- 570 BIOLOGY.
- 580 BOTANY.
- 590 ZOOLOGY.

600 Useful Arts.

- 610 MEDICINE.
- 620 ENGINEERING.
- 630 AGRICULTURE.
- 640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
- 650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
- 660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
- 670 MANUFACTURES.
- 680 MECHANIC TRADES.
- 690 BUILDING.

700 Fine Arts.

- 710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
- 720 ARCHITECTURE.
- 730 SCULPTURE.
- 740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
- 750 PAINTING.
- 760 ENGRAVING.
- 770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
- 780 MUSIC.
- 790 AMUSEMENTS.

800 Literature.

- 810 AMERICAN.
- 820 ENGLISH.
- 830 GERMAN.
- 840 FRENCH.
- 850 ITALIAN.
- 860 SPANISH.
- 870 LATIN.
- 880 GREEK.
- 890 MINOR LANGUAGES.

900 History.

- 910 GEOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION.
- 920 BIOGRAPHY.
- 930 ANCIENT HISTORY.
- 940 EUROPE.
- 950 ASIA.
- 960 AFRICA.
- 970 NORTH AMERICA.
- 980 SOUTH AMERICA.
- 990 OCEANICA AND POLAR REGIONS.

900 HISTORY: GENERAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Prize essays. *Washington*, 1912. 8vo. *In progress*.

1911. Brown (L. F.) The political activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy men in England during the Interregnum.—1912. R 35907

CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Planned by J. B. Bury. . . . Edited by H. M. Gwatkin. . . . J. P. Whitney. . . . [With maps.] *Cambridge*, 1913. 8vo. *In progress*. R 28383, R 28573

2. The rise of the Saracens and the foundation of the Western Empire.—1913.

FOSS (Edward) *Biographia juridica*. A biographical dictionary of the judges of England from the Conquest to the present time, 1066-1870. . . . [With an introductory note by J. C. Robertson.] *London*, 1870. 8vo, pp. xv, 792. R 34060

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HEUTERUS (Pontus) *Ponti Heuteri, Delfi, præpositi Arnhemensis, opera historica omnia; Burgundica, Austriaca, Belgica: De rebus a principibus Burgundis atque Austriacis, qui Belgis imperarunt, pace belloq; præclare gestis. Insertus est eiusdem De vetustate et nobilitate familiæ Habsburgicæ et Austriacæ liber singularis. Accessereq; De veterum ac sui sæculi Belgio libri duo; aliaque. Nunc primum simul edita, opera atque industria viri docti [i.e. J. Coppenius] recensita, & capitibus distincta. Lovanii, 1649. 3 pts. in 1 vol. Fol. R 35753*

JESSOPP (Augustus) *Arcady, for better, for worse*. . . . Seventh edition. *London*, [n.d.] 8vo, pp. xxv, 251. R 35659

— The coming of the friars, and other historic essays. . . . Seventeenth impression. *London*, 1913. 8vo, pp. 344. R 35660

— *Frivola*, Simon Ryan, and other papers. . . . Second edition. [With portrait.] *London*, 1907. 8vo, pp. viii, 296. R 35661

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— The trials of a country parson. . . . [Fifth impression.] *London*, 1909. 8vo, pp. xxx, 295. R 35664

OXFORD HISTORICAL AND LITERARY STUDIES. Issued under the direction of C. H. Firth and Walter Raleigh. . . . *Oxford*, 1913 8vo. *In progress*. R 34690

1. Elizabethan rogues and vagabonds. By F. Aydelotte. . . . [With facsimiles and illustrations.]—1913.

2. Anglo-Roman relations 1558-1565. By C. G. Bayne. . . .—1913.

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1. Newton (A. P.) The colonising activities of the English puritans: the last phase of the Elizabethan struggle with Spain. . . . With an introduction by C. M. Andrews. [With maps.]—1914.

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HAKLUYT SOCIETY. Publications. Second Series. *London*, 1913-14. 8vo. *In progress*. R 1828

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BURKE (*Sir John Bernard*) A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain. . . . Twelfth edition. Revised by A. C. Fox-Davies. . . . [With illustrations.] *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. viii, 2102. R 5344

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3. Canonteign to Cutts.

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DELAVILLE LE ROULX (*Joseph*) Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac, 1310-1421. [With a preface by the Marquis C. J. M. de Vogue.] *Paris*, 1913. 8vo, pp. vi, 452. R 37469

DOUGLAS (*Sir Robert*) *Bart.* The Scots peerage, founded on Wood's edition of Sir R. Douglas's Peerage of Scotland; containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul. . . . Vol. IX. Index. *Edinburgh*, 1914. 8vo. R 10412

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JEWERS (*Arthur J.*) Grants and certificates of arms. Edited by A. J. Jewers. Reprinted from "The genealogist". *Exeter*, 1913. 8vo, pp. 339. R 35580

LOEBE (*Max*) Wahlsprüche, Devisen und Sinnsprüche deutscher Fürstengeschlechter des xvi und xvii Jahrhunderts. *Leipzig*, 1883. 8vo, pp. xvi, 267. R 37589

MANGO DI CASALGERARDO (*Antonino*) Nobiliario di Sicilia. [With plates.] *Palermo*, 1912. 4to. *In progress*. R 33501

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STODART (Robert Riddle) Scottish arms : being a collection of armorial bearings A.D. 1370-1678. Reproduced in facsimile from contemporary manuscripts. With heraldic and genealogical notes. *Edinburgh*, 1881. 2 vols. Fol.

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17. *Preusser (C.) Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler altchristlicher und islamischer Zeit*. . . . 2 vols. — 1911.

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BUDGE (Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis) The papyrus of Ani: a reproduction in facsimile edited, with hieroglyphic transcript, translation and introduction, by E. A. Wallis Budge . . . *London*, 1913. 2 vols. 8vo. R 35097

BUTLER (Arthur John) Babylon of Egypt: a study in the history of old Cairo. *Oxford*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 63. R 36397

CHARMES (Gabriel) L'Égypte: archéologie-histoire-littérature. *Paris*, 1891. 8vo, pp. iv, 393. R 28360

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